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843
826 cake when it is still on the oven, the child will be born deformed. Harelip, for example, is attributed to this delinquency in eating.
[302] The pregnant woman, on the other hand, endangers her child by generosity with body paint. Women commonly give one another genipa paint. If a pregnant woman should give genipa paint to an-
[763] other, her child will be born without the blue marking at the base of its spine. A child without such a marking, which is called *vei* – the term for the genipa pigment – will die very soon.

844 When the mother has brought the newborn infant to the maloca
854 on a manioc tray lined with cloth (in the past with soft bark fibers)
302 she proceeds immediately to bathe it in warm water, washing its body clean. She then paints the infant's face with red spots to make it resemble a jaguar child, and the rest of its body with the same red
[789] pigment. The spots will protect the infant against the jaguar, while the red body pigment, which is common ceremonial adornment,
[856] gives the infant human status at once. Finally, she ties cord bands on
[603] the baby's wrists so that its arms will grow heavy. Having done these
[606] things the mother presents the child to its grandmother, her mother-in-law, and goes to her hammock.

546 For the next three days, husband and wife spend most of their time in their respective hammocks. They move about as little as possible, leaving the house only for excretion, and avoid going near the
[262] river. They drink little water, eat only stale manioc bread and, if they wish, ants. They talk to no one but are looked after by others
[372] in the house, who bring water, keep the fire going, bring them their dry food. If the woman blows at the fire to stir it up she will develop
[828] a terrible temper. The grandmother has charge of the infant, giving it up only for nursing. Almost anything the parents might do at this time would be harmful to the infant. If either stubbed a toe it would damage the infant's toe; peppers would burn the infant's insides; it would choke on a fishbone; and so the parents must avoid these foods. This period of three days is an isolation period for the parents. Their other children, if any, are taken into another household. When Koch-Grünberg was among the Cubeo he noticed that the couple was actually hidden behind screens. Among the *Bahúkiwa* the isolation was less complete. Informants had told me that the period of isolation, which is known simply as "resting," lasted ten days. However, the several instances that I observed lasted only three days, perhaps a concession to modernity.[1] But Father Giacone

[1] One informant explained that the restrictions last until the infant's fetal skin comes off, that is, three or four days.

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The Cubeo have no dread of menstruation and menstrual taboos are relatively minor. A man will not copulate with a menstruating [833]
woman because he believes it will make him lazy. On the other hand, [828]
if there is a sick person in the house a menstruant will move and live in a shelter nearby, or else the ill person cannot recover. For her part [758]
the menstruant must avoid the river, or she will be killed by the water anaconda. She may not enter a canoe for fear that the headman of the fish will destroy the canoe.

Menstrual blood (*hive*) is not human blood, but is believed to be 826
blood of the moon. The moon, according to the Cubeo, is an ardent 841
hunter who comes down to earth to copulate with unmarried girls 821
and with women who are not pregnant. No one conceives by the moon. The moon is said to deflorate the woman, causing her to bleed. The hymen, according to this belief, grows back and the moon repeats his sexual connection each month. When a woman has erotic [828]
dreams she knows that the moon will come to her.

SEX LIFE

Under Cubeo rules of phratric exogamy the young people of a 836
community may reach the age of marriage without having had sex- 835
ual relations with an eligible marriage partner. The young people [838]
are limited to clandestine incestuous affairs and to public homosexual play. It was difficult to get information on the sex life of the unmarried, although I was aware of affairs between sib brother and sister. One informant told me that it was not improper for brother and sister to indulge in external coitus. According to this man, it was intromission that constituted incest. True coitus between sib brother and sister is not regarded lightly. Offenders may be put to [775]
death, and their souls after death, it is said, will be animals that will not associate with people. I never witnessed any gesture of sexual intimacy between a grown boy and girl of the same sib or phratry. Young children who indulge in heterosexual play are shamed by the [867]
older boys for ignoring the proprieties of privacy. [626]

As for homosexual play, girls stroke one another's nipples to pro- 838
duce erection, and boys sometimes indulge in mutual masturbation. This kind of play is public and involves no shame. I have already mentioned the Cubeo enjoyment of body contact. In the younger people it is a mild form of homosexual eroticism. True homosexuality, however, seems to be rare. I learned of no case of persistent male homosexuality, and only one case of a woman. This woman developed strong male characteristics and eventually, it is said, she grew a penis.

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534 women. The men cautioned me not to speak of the *Bekũpwänwa* to
[788] the women for fear they would be driven mad. A woman who hears
[793] about the Ancients will wander about singing their songs until she
dies of her madness. If a woman actually sees the instruments, it is
[828] felt that she should be put to death by sorcery so that the secret will
[754] be kept from the other women.

769 The *Bekũpwänwa* come annually in the summer when a species of
796 palm berry (*konhá*) and certain other fruits and berries are ripe. Of
their coming it is said, "They come to whip the boys to make them
grow." At the same time, it is explained that if the people did not
dance with the flutes and trumpets the berries and fruits would not
grow. The *Bahúkiwa* would not assert a magical connection, how-
ever, between the two kinds of growth, yet the association would
seem to be an obvious one.

[561] As an age grade, youths are known as *hwainyó*, but as boys who
need whipping for growth they are known as *bahúdjo*, which may
be rendered as "bodying." A boy's first whipping occurs when he is
no more than eight years old and continues until he leaves the play
pack at about 15. Thereafter, as a man he continues to be whipped
but under different auspices. As a man he accepts whipping volun-
tarily. As a boy it is imposed upon him by his elders.

I observed two initiation ceremonies, one among the *Bahúkiwa*
and one among its subsib, the *Bahúkũdjauwũ*.

The *Bahúkiwa* rites were conducted entirely by the younger men
of the sib, not by the real elders as I had been led to believe. These
younger men were in their prime of physical vigor. One was not yet
married but he was very strong, energetic, and exceptionally capa-
ble in all respects. They were the men whom the play pack admired
and emulated, to whom they attached themselves, and to whom
they owed no special respect. The initiators were the fathers and
the fathers' brothers with whom the boys could most readily feel at
ease.

I was not invited to accompany the small band as they left the
maloca in the early morning, the men in high spirits, the boys sub-
dued, although they had been told only that they were going to pick
berries. This was sheer euphemism since there are no secrets from the
play pack. The gaiety of the initiators is characteristic. Only the
women are expected to be afraid and one suspects that much of this
is mock fright. Among the initiates was a boy of an in-law sib. But
as a resident, a member of the play pack whose mother, the head-
man's sister, had standing as a household head of the sib, his initia-

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sumed and at that moment the victim dies. The Arawakan tribes in the region call him *Afakálu* and regard him as the chief of the masked dancers. The *abúhuwa*, of which there are several types, are grotesque forest ogres, a menace to the hunter whom they lead astray, tease, or kill, and the bogy man of the children. It was not my impression that the *abúhuwa* were deeply feared. They represent, rather, a caricature of human fears. The dung beetles (*keratamóua*) are literally devourers and cleansers of decay. They are, as Koch-Grünberg observed, good spirits and guardians against dangers. The carrion vulture (*kawá*) is simply a literal representation. The aracú represent the ordinary world that is neither good nor bad.

The masked dances (*wahómu*: bark-cloth tree) are mimetic, each illustrating some distinctive gesture or movement of the being represented. The songs, on the other hand, are not readily translatable, but many do mention the name of the being. As for the masks themselves, they are recognizable either specifically or at least by class by such distinctive design motifs as wings, fish scales, feathers, and jaguar spots, as well as by characteristic features of over-all design. The intent is clearly to represent the being with some directness.

The jaguar masks have a design of yellow spots outlined in black and in red that covers the entire surface including the facepiece. In some masks the spots are distributed evenly and in others they are divided into fields. The jaguar sleeves are made of a coarse brown bark cloth that seems to be associated in the Cubeo mind, judging by how they use it, with more violent feelings, a point I shall deal with later. The jaguar dancers carry a jug whistle upon which they produce the deep *hoo hoo hoo* sound of the angry beast. The whistle is a short length of ambauva palm set into a pottery dish made expressly for the purpose. The pot is enveloped in brown bark thongs that cross the opening, where they are fastened to the whistle, thus allowing the instrument to be held with one hand. The entire pot is hung with bark fringes. The dancers move as a pair, sometimes holding hands and sometimes separately. As all dancers do, the Jaguars begin with a slow, stately walk, and then move into their characteristic movement. Legs held close, they spring forward and then back, sounding their booming *hoo*'s during the walking intervals. They follow a circular movement in either direction. The Jaguars have an important role in stirring the assembly, particularly the women, to the desired state of frenzy. They are almost always on the floor. They begin wild and are capable of increasingly more violent actions. The Jaguars are always men in their physical prime. At some time during the ceremonies all the mature and vigorous men will have

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bidinous nocturnal hunter, and not in the sun. The sun, they say, is merely the moon giving heat and light during the day, "when people need it." As sun, *avyd* lacks anthropomorphic character. The interest of the Cubeo in the moon rather than in the sun seems related to their concept of nightfall as the sacred time. Almost all ceremonies are night ceremonies, whereas daylight is the time for work. Apart from his erotic role the moon is a hunter with a stone-tipped spear (*temúdjo*). Bits of the blade chip off which the finder can use as potent sorcery magic, killing his victim by poisoning. The moon is also an opener of graves of those who eat a seed the Cubeo call *óthai* and which is used as fish bait. The Cubeo tell the story of the man who hoped to steal the lamp of the moon (*djuwaíbo*) by covering it with a pottery dish. Some light showed and *avyd* secured the lamp to the back of his neck and flew off.

When there is an eclipse of the moon, the Cubeo say that the spirits of the dead are being dispersed. They also fear that the moon is dying. As the moon reddens I have witnessed them running about shouting to one another in genuine terror that the moon is dying. They believe that those who live in the direction from which the eclipse shadow is moving will die. The moon sickens of the same sorcery afflictions that beset humans, although they do not believe that one of their medicine men has the power to sicken the moon.

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HUMAN SPIRITS

The soul is called *umé*, which also means "breath" and "breeze."[2] As a spirit entity the soul is referred to as *umémakũ* (or *umémako*). The soul leaves the body during dreams, returning as the dreamer awakes. The *Bahúkiwa*, at least those with whom I discussed the subject, did not believe that the *umé* might fail to return and so cause death. Death and illness result, they insisted, from something entering the body. At death, the *umé* leaves the body permanently, journeying after a suitable interval to a nearby river, dwelling of the spirits. After death the *umé* has human form. It can be heard talking and can be seen by the shaman. The spirits of people who have been adulterers, uncooperative, breakers of the bonds of ritual friendship, or in any other way markedly unsocial assume an animal

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pomorphic beliefs about the sun. Linguistic evidence suggests also that the concept of sun and of time is built around the notion of visibility. Thus, direction, having nothing to do with visibility, is based on the *avyd* form.

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[2] Koch-Grünberg (1915–16) also noted *umédo* (pulse) and *umédade* (heart). I believe that the connotation of the term is revealed by the verb *umédani*, which means "to get up," "to rise."

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tious and no longer attack people. The *yavi* has his distant method of killing and is feared for that. But even this fear, strong as it is, is as nothing compared with the fear of the nonprofessional sorcerer. The arts of sorcery, which include the arts of poisoning, are known to all men and are believed to be used by all men. What restrains native fear of the *yavi* is the Cubeo conviction already referred to, that mischief must be motivated by understandable feelings of anger, envy, hatred. In theory, the *yavi*, being outside the human pale, may act from motives not understood by the victim. But in fact, the Cubeo find it difficult to envisage this, and they seek to account for how a victim might have stirred up the animosity of the *yavi*. They console themselves with the thought that as long as they avoid trouble with the *yavi* they will be all right. Among the nonprofessionals, on the other hand, they have no difficulty in locating motives.

The *yavis* use esoteric means for killing at a distance. First they send a frightening dream of death as a warning, and follow that with objects such as have already been mentioned which are "shot" into the victim's body from a distance. Some use a method of killing that my informant said was introduced by Indians from the Rio Negro in Venezuela. Known as *dokūbéwoinu* (dirt killing), it causes a slow and anguished death, and is used mainly as a retaliation against death from sorcery. The shaman takes from the corpse of the victim parings of nails and bits of foot callous, scurf from behind the ears, a bit of forelock hair, fingernails and toenails, and scrapings from the teeth. All this is mixed with boiled capsicum. When the brew is heated the intended victim suffers stomach cramps. It is brought to a boiling point and allowed to subside and the victim's pain subsides also. Boiling continues for three days. On the third day the medicine man sits over the pot and sings, commanding his victim to eat parts of his own body. The *yavi* accompanies his instructions with gestures. The victim now vomits continually. Then the brew is boiled vigorously and the medicine man does a staggering dance around the pot. His victim staggers and bites his tongue. Now, the spirit of the victim appears over the pot in the form of a butterfly. Caught in the vapors it falls into the pot. The medicine man immediately breaks the pot and the victim falls to his death. He has been made to eat his teeth, his penis, his testicles, and his fingers. What I have described is the short method of killing. The long method lasts ten days, during which time the sorcerer calls on his tutelary spirits, each of which is known as *ihékowakū dekókū* (sickness-bringing spirit). The *umé* of a sorcerer is never human; it takes the form of an insect or of several

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[775] insects, not to mention the jaguar in the case of a true *yaví*. The insect
[825] spirits that arrive to fall into the pot are *tatárako* (butterfly), *utáwe* (firefly), *henohenóri* (bee), and *utcíkũ* (wasp).

[828] The common shamanistic form of killing is *dáwai*. The shaman usually kills when the victim is asleep. The death takes place in a dream and such a death is known as *dekóbaiwa* (dream death). There are other forms of professional shamanistic killing. Blowing in the house is one. If the shaman blows his breath and tobacco smoke in the same manner as in curing, but within the house, then someone [755] in the house will sicken and may die. For this reason curing takes place on the plaza. Yet having explained this, my informant added that more important was intent. A shaman could treat someone within the house and his blowing would cause no harm if he did not want it to. Boiling nail cuttings from fingers or toes in a capsicum pepper broth kills by a similar principle but with less attention to painful detail than in the previously described method of killing a sorcerer or poisoner. The shaman prepares this brew deep in the woods where he cannot be seen. He must, however, have been able to [534] obtain the cuttings from his intended victim. Finally, a shaman has a stone bull-roarer. As he whirls it the victim suffers as if struck with a machete.

682 The Indians claim to use a number of plant poisons which go by
278 the *lingoa geral* term *marukimbára*, and in Tucanoan by the term
824 for "illness," *ihé*. *Turú* is a leaf cultivated as a poison. The leaf is shredded and the fibers made up into a small packet that is dipped into a calabash of chicha until the infusion is strong. If the *turú* is used fresh it kills quickly and if allowed to dry for five days or so it produces only illness, the symptoms of which are diarrhea and excretion of blood. *Turú* is administered at a drinking party shortly after midnight. All in the house are implicated in *turú* poisoning since only the victim must drink the fatal chicha.

278 *Koné nonedwaiye* is a cultivated leafy plant similar to *turú* but
824 one that produces a fatty exudation, and is intended to poison by
754 entering the body through the urethra. At a drinking party the poi-
682 soner waits for his victim to leave the house to urinate. He then secretly places the substance on the urine. Symptoms of pain in the groin and in the genitals accompanied by a discharge of pus occur within three months and are fatal.

278 *Yapíbũ kowaiye* (poison for swelling the abdomen) is another culti-
824 vated plant from which an infusion is put into chicha or porridge.
682 Symptoms occur after a year and are fatal. For ten days the victim has [241] fever and pain in his limbs. These symptoms subside and return.